

To — Esq; Member for — in Yorkshire.

AS I have been informed that my former Epistle was so happy as not to provoke your Anger, but, on the contrary, to meet with some Marks of your Approbation, which, considering your confessed Abilities, polite Taste, and sprightly Wit, I have great reason to value myself from: so I am inclined to hope that this, my second Essay in the same kind, will not meet with a worse Reception, in as much as it is undertaken from the same Motive, viz. the Desire of doing my Country good by, re-calling you to her Service. I would not, Sir, be thought to flatter, I mean what I say; I am, I confess no Friend to your Party, but I am far from owning Hatred to your Person.

The desire of appearing considerable in the Eyes of one's Countrymen, the love of Fame, and the impatience of Opposition, which are Qualities common in Souls of a superior Nature, and which soar above the common Gratifications of Sense, are, indisputably, the Causes of your present Behaviour, and have frequently caused the same Conduct in Persons of distinguished Rank, where the Freedom of their Country and the Nature of its Constitution allowed their Dispositions Scope. And tho I will not take upon me to deny, that in some Cases, this ambitious Spirit has spurred Men to great and laudable Actions, yet I may venture to affirm, that it has much oftener produced unhappy Events, by sowing Division under the Name of Emulation, and fomenting Disputes till Ruin has ensued.

It is true, that generous and virtuous Minds have sometimes been hurried, thro' the impetuosity of such a Genius, into Things dangerous to the Peace of their Country; but then they have always retreated in time. A thousand Accidents may blind a Man's Eyes for a small Space, but a steady and unbiaſſed Search after Truth will quickly reveal even our own Errors to us, and then nothing but Malice, Interest, or Meanness of Spirit, can possibly hinder a Man from abandoning his Follies, and entering with redoubled Ardor into the Paths of Virtue and Truth. A contrary Conduct, whatever great Qualities may center in the Soul of Him who pursues it, will necessarily plunge a Person, either living or dead, into universal Disesteem, especially among honest and good Men; who, far from admiring the sprightliness of an Apothegm, or the musical Cadence of a Period, measure Mens Merit solely by their Actions; and not by their Pretences. Who that has read the *Greek History*, can reflect on the Character of *Alcibiades*, without feeling a Pity mixed with Contempt? his Valour, Eloquence, early knowledge of State Affairs, and other happy Talents for forming a truly great Man, incline us to have a favourable Opinion of him; but the Vices, Fickleness and insatiate Desires which possessed him, and which rendred even his Successes fatal to *Athens*, dash all this, and constrain us to own, that the Foibles of this stirring and ambitious Man, proved destructive to himself most justly, tho they were the fatal Causes of the utmost Misfortunes to a Republic, which for a long time had maintained its Lustre, in spite of all the Attempts which her envious Neighbours made against her. So much more dangerous are intestine Feuds than foreign Wars, tho undertaken by many and potent Enemies. Faction is almost always blind, but never more so than in this Particular; for tho nothing can appear more plainly than the Necessity of Peace at Home, when there is any Danger from Abroad, yet most Histories might be adduced to prove, that in such Conjunctions the Heats of Parties run highest.

But to come home to the Reasons which led me to a Belief that this second Letter of mine might be of some Use. — At the time I wrote my former, the Politics of *Europe* were in great Perplexity; its greatest Powers acted as if their Purposes were not fully determined; and therefore private Men might very justly plead an Excuse for delivering their Thoughts on that Subject. But as things have since ripened, as the War in *Italy* and on the *Rhine*, speak but too plainly the Probability there is of seeing most of the *European* Potentates engaged on one Side or other, as Principals or Accessaries. As such a State as this must be prejudicial to Commerce, and induce great Danger of seeing that Balance intirely broken which *Britain* has been at so great Pains to procure and defend; and as, in such a Conjunction, it is next to Impossibility that our Interests should not suffer, without all imaginable Care be used to protect them; one might with reason expect to have heard those, who called them-

selves Patriots on other Occasions, at least, speak like Patriots on this. — But these Expectations have been vain.

Instead of any Enquiry into the present State of Affairs Abroad, the Probability or Improbability of seeing the present Disputes adjusted, the Influence which the War now subsisting may have on the Interests of *Great Britain*, the Methods by which its ill Consequences might in all likelihood be avoided, or the Means whereby this jarring, confused State of things might once more be reduced to Order and Peace; we have for a long space seen an extraordinary Silence maintained. When at length that was broken, dark Hints, Sneers, and satyric Innuendoes, have been the utmost that those in the Opposition have afforded us on so critical a Point; the Opportunity of making a Jest of the *M*—y seems to have comforted them for all the Mischiefs the War has already occasioned, or may hereafter bring to pass. The furnishing a new Topic for Declamation to the *Craftsman*, compensates for the Dangers to which the Public is exposed. And provided the Broils of *Europe* might be so managed as to remove those they envy or malign, we want not a Party among us who would be as fond of the War, as heretofore they were of a destructive Peace. This is the single Point to which all their Councils tend, and if any Means could be found to effect it, that would be sufficient to change the Nature of Things, and to make those Means, be they what they would, both righteous and equitable in their Opinion.

I am far from saying, Sir, that you are one of this Number, because I cannot believe it: A Man of Honour and Integrity, a Man disinterested and unassuming, a Man whose Bosom glows with Affection for his Country, which is the Character you would be thought to bear, can never take pleasure in viewing the Misfortunes of the Nation; or, like a *Morefields* Conjuror, value yourself on the coming of a Plague, because you had foretold it. Had the Suggestions of that accomplished Politician, the Author of *Politics on both Sides*, been true, could it have justified the Conduct of some Chiefs in the Opposition? Would his Foreseeing unlucky Events, give him a reasonable Cause for Triumph, when they appeared of dangerous Consequence to the public Safety? Would the Evidence of their superior Wisdom, atone for their Want of common Gratitude and Compassion? Or could the Miseries of *Britain*, even if brought on her by the Administration, exhibit any cause of Joy to real Patriots? Surely they would not. Nor can there possibly be a more palpable Demonstration of the want of real Sincerity in the present Set of pretended Patriots, than their open Exultations on the falling out of public Calamities which afford them room to charge an Increase of Evils on the Measures followed by the Ministry. For this is so glaring a Testimony of Malice, Envy, and Ambition, that Men must shut their Eyes who do not discern the true Springs of those zealous Actions, which they would have pass upon us as the Fruits of public Spirit. An Artifice worn quite thin by constant Practice, and which every Traytor and Conspirator has taken upon him, since the Days of the immortal *CATALINE*, as well as long before them.

But as such a Conduct as this is not to be supported at any rate from Reason, Religion, or Politics, even supposing that the present un auspicious Face of Affairs in *Europe* had been occasioned, in whole or in part, by the Mismanagement of those at the Helm in *Britain*, how much more absurd and unchristian a thing is it, for Men to upbraid those at the head of Affairs for what they had no hand in procuring, could not possibly foresee, or, if that had been possible, could not even then have been able to prevent? Is not this acting against the Rules of Honour, Morality, and Religion? Is it not making Men answerable for what falls not within the Sphere of human Ability to perform, or to hinder from being performed? Would it be more unwise, or unjust, to impute to them the Mischiefs done by Storms, or the Devastations of the late high Winds? If the Minds of the People are easily wrought upon, will Men who profess the Love of their Country, and a zealous Affection towards Virtue, make use of such Methods as these to work upon them? Will they stoop to the Drudgery of inventing many things, misrepresenting more, and suppressing others? If they will, it may be possible for them to persuade the Credulous, that the War now subsisting was some how or other occasioned by the Ministry in this Kingdom. But in this case, their Dis-

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eiples must be enjoined not to dip into any thing written on t'other side of the *Question*, for fear of meeting with *Conviction*; as I will venture to shew you, Sir, they must meet with, if they ever suffer Reason to get the better of their *Passion*, and attend ever so little to what the most *authentic Vouchers* tell us of *foreign Affairs*.

The Malecontents have given us to understand, that not relying on Appearances, or those gross Conjectures which are wont to satisfy the Vulgar, they have searched indefatigably into the *Source* of the present Commotions in *Europe*, and have discovered it to be the want of Capacity and *political Foresight* in the Ministry at *Home*. With their leave, I will enter a little also into the same Enquiry: His most *Christian Majesty* desiring to shew a Love of Justice and strict Regard to Equity, even in his taking up Arms, has in the most public manner asserted, that the War took its Rise from the *Infringements* offered to the *Polish Liberties*, in hindering King *Stanislaus* from assuming quietly the *Crown* of that Kingdom. If this be true, How had the *British Ministry* any thing to do with the *Source* of the War? did they endeavour to disturb the *Freedom* of the *Poles*? or did this Nation act any way in concert with his *Imperial*, or her *Czarish Majesty*, on this Occasion? I dare be positive, there is no Body who either can or will say she did. But may be the *Motives* of the *French King* are to be suspected, and we are to look for the *Truth* in the *Answers* made to them on the Part of the *Emperor*. Well then, What say they? Why truly, that the *Business* of *Poland* is a mere Pretence; that *France* has been, and is likely to continue, an inveterate Enemy to the *Succession* settled by his *Imperial Majesty*; wherefore after great, tho secret Endeavours to subvert it, she has laid hold on this Opportunity to overturn it, by entering so suddenly, and with so great Armies, into the *Dominions* of the *Emperor*. Admit this, In what have the *British Ministry* been to blame? Have they abetted the Views of either Party, or have they not laboured to their utmost in order to bring about a lasting *Peace*? But it has been objected, that the *Decease* of the King of *Poland* which, on the one Hand, is affirmed to have been the *Cause*, and, on the other, to have been the *Pretence* for Hostilities being begun, was a Thing not hard to have been foreseen, since *Augustus* was a Man in years; and that therefore some Expedient should have been thought of, for preventing his *Decease* from intangling those *Potentates* in new *Broils*, whom, for many Years together, we had been endeavouring to make *Friends*. How unreasonable a thing is this? Could we have formed any Project for that Purpose, which would not have clashed with the *Liberty* of *Poland*? and would not that Kingdom, in such an Occasion, have found some *Protector*? What a noble Topic then, would our *Interposition* have afforded the *Craftsman*? with what *Derision* had the Ministry been treated, on a Measure which these Gentlemen now represent as *adviseable*! At this rate, 'tis impossible for the *Administration* to escape Censure: if they enter into *Engagements* with *Foreign Powers*, then they are rashly fond of *Negotiations*: If they omit meddling where they have nothing to do, 'tis *Indolence* in them, and want of *Foresight*.

But the truth is, That we have taken no Measures, nor entered into no Engagements, which can be prejudicial to us, unless those who are in the *Opposition* make themselves be taken Abroad for a stronger Party than hitherto they have found themselves at *Home*, and thereby encourage *Foreign Powers* to insult us as a divided, and consequently an impotent People; which, 'tis to be hoped, will never prove the Case. Tho we are too sensible that some of the *Malecontents* are far enough gone in their *political Frenzy*, and far enough lost to all Sense of Shame, not to make the smallest Scruple of taking such a Step: Witness a famous MEMORIAL referred to lately by the *Author* of *Politics* on both Sides.

As to domestic Concerns, even the sharpest Eyes among those in the *Opposition*, are unable to particularize any *Facts* which may support their general Charge of *Corruption* on those whom they would supplant: even you, Sir, who 'tis agreed on all hands, have taken as much Pains on this Head as any of your *Colleagues*, have constantly failed in point of *Proof*, as often as you have been called upon to produce it. Were things in the State which you and your Party have, for many Years last past, represented them to be in, it would not have lain in the Power of the most accomplished Statesman upon Earth to have covered, or (to use your favourite Term) screened every Instance of *Corruption*. You have hinted at strange things done in public Companies; you have examined into the Affairs of those Companies, and have either found nothing, or nothing which could be strained into the least relation to the Ministry; you have, every Session of the present Parliament, threaten'd mighty *Detections*; but your *Threats* have done no more than detected their *Vanity* and

Weakness who threw them out. To say there were no *Truth* in those *Innuendo's* which your Party have so constantly vented, to give them a *Character* too dark for me to name; and to say that the *Truth* lay too deep for them to come at, is to lay all *Imputation* on the most sagacious and quick-sighted Persons in the Kingdom, and at the same time is paying a *Compliment* of a high Nature to the *Understandings* of those who, by the *Craftsman*, have been over and over proved to have scarce common Sense. In this *Dilemma* what must be done? Shall we say that the *Malecontents* want *Honesty*, or *Parts*; in one or t'other 'tis plain they are deficient: otherways we had never heard so much of *South-Sea Frauds*, *Corporation Frauds*, and *Frauds* in the *N—*, before they came to be canvassed; or so little of them afterwards.

But there is a Point yet behind, on which your Declaimers have exhausted their whole Fund of Sneer and Ridicule, to dispel the Apprehensions of the People: I mean, the Danger of bringing in the *Pretender*. Which, tho it be treated as a mere *Chimera*, a thing out of every body's Head, by you and your Associates; yet to impartial Men it is apparent, that some *Con- trivances* are on foot, at least to excite Disturbances on that Head in his Majesty's *Dominions*. In a late *Craftsman*, the Practices of the *Papists* in *Britain*, and their *Conspiracy* in *Ireland*, are represented as little better than ministerial Forgeries, to fright one Party and awe the other. But with what appearance of Truth can this be said? Are not the *Papists*, in a Pamphlet mentioned in that very *Craftsman*, fully proved to have established here an *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, in defiance of the *Laws*? and are they not notoriously known to employ indefatigable Pains, and also considerable Sums, in making *Converts* within the *Bills* of *Mortality* only? As to the *Irish Plot's* being a common Transaction magnified to serve a Turn, which is the Light wherein your Party endeavour to place it; give me leave to ask, whether levying Money by Authority of a foreign Prince, to be applied only to the utterly cutting off and extirpating the *Royal Family*, be so common, so trivial, so harmless a thing, as to be unworthy of any Notice?

As things therefore are situated at present, both at home and abroad, nothing can possibly prove fatal to the public Safety but *Sedition*, and the *Disturbance* of the public Peace; divided Councils, continual Animositities, and Jealousies artfully instilled of dangerous Designs, concerted by Men in Power, are Means the most likely to render the Weight of *Britain's* Interposition inconsiderable with foreign Potentates, and to inspire her Enemies with hopes of effecting mighty Changes with a very small Force. If Men of insatiate Ambition, and implacable Spirits, of great Boldness, and any Capacity, interest themselves in keeping alive old Feuds, and creating every day new Divisions and Distinctions; if these Men have large Fortunes and many Dependants; if they exert their utmost Efforts in favour of Faction, and Opposition to the Measures taken by their Prince, it cannot be doubted but that they will, in time, swell the Power of the *Malecontents* to a great Height, perhaps to such a one as may induce all those Evils I have mentioned. His most Sacred Majesty, from a just Sense of what these Disputes might in time grow up to, has on a late solemn Occasion, and in most pathetic Terms, recommended *Union*: *Union*, which alone can make us formidable to our Neighbours, and useful to ourselves, which, as Reason dictates, so Experience has taught, to be the sovereign Antidote of all the political Diseases this Kingdom has ever been subject to.

In this ticklish Conjunction then, if you have really that Zeal for your Country's Service which you have so long, so loudly, and so steadily boasted, let us see certain and undeniable Proofs of it. Instead of perplexing public Councils assist in them; instead of embarrassing the Administration, point out the Means by which the Kingdom's Safety may be best taken care of; instead of shifting Principles daily, the easier and more effectually to cross the Ministry, keep up to the true Maxims of Patriots, and promote whatever may benefit his Majesty and his Subjects. Quit the Cabals of levelling Republicans, who would introduce a Form of Rule unsuited to the Genius of this Nation; and break off your Correspondence with Jacobites, who labour to subvert that Establishment under which alone we can be happy. So shall you restore your Country's Peace, your own Honour, and, if I may presume to add it, sincere Joy to,

S I R,

Your very Humble Servant.

